

GREELEY, HORACE

DRAWER 10C

CONTEMPORARIES

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Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

Horace Greeley

Excerpts from newspapers and other
sources

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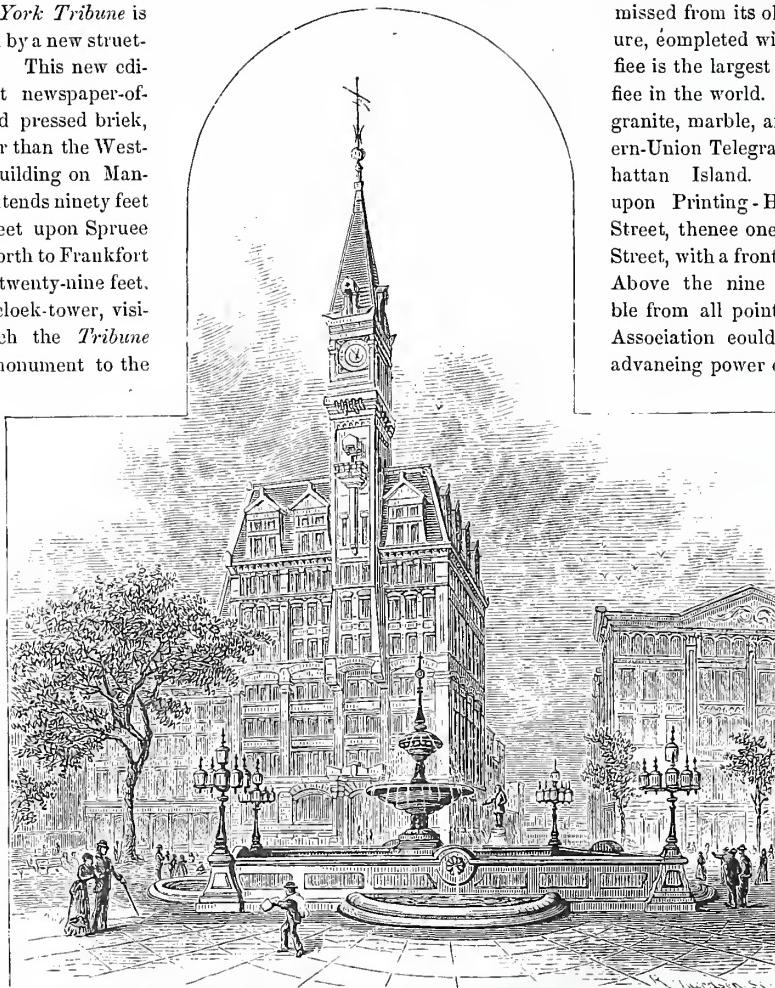
GREELEY, Horace, an American journalist, born in Amherst, N. H., Feb. 3, 1811, died at Pleasantville, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1872. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish. His father, Zacchaeus Greeley, had settled on a small rocky farm, which he vainly tried to pay for and get a living from. Horace was a delicate and sickly child, but showed a remarkable appetite for learning. He could read almost as soon as he could talk, devoured all the books within reach, and so far surpassed his schoolmates that the leading men of the neighborhood offered to bear his expenses in a college course, which his parents declined for him. When he was ten years old the farm was sold by the sheriff, and the family removed to West Haven, Vt. Horace had early conceived a strong desire to be a printer, and in 1826 he entered as an apprentice the office of the "Northern Spectator" in East Poultney, soon became an expert workman, and rendered occasional assistance in editing the paper. He kept up his studies, and was called the "giant" of the village debating society, being especially noted for his familiarity with political statistics. His parents meanwhile had removed to Erie co., Pa., and he had made two visits there, walking a large part of the way. In 1830 the "Spectator" was discontinued, and he went west in search of employment, finding it at Jamestown and Lodi, N. Y., and Erie, Pa. In August, 1831, he went to New York, reaching that city on the 17th, with \$10 in his pocket. He soon found employment hyndertaking a job which no other printer would accept, it being a 32mo New Testament in very small type, with intercolumnar notes in still smaller. By working at this 12 or 14 hours a day he was able to earn but \$5 or \$6 a week, yet he persevered till the Testament was completed. He worked as a journeyman in several offices till Jan. 1, 1833, when he commenced business on his own account, with Francis V. Story as his partner. They printed the "Morning Post," the first penny daily ever published, which was owned and edited by Dr. H. D. Shepard. Story was drowned in July, 1833, and his place in the establishment was taken by Jonas Winchester. On March 22, 1834, the new firm issued the first number of "The New Yorker," a weekly folio (afterward changed to double quarto), devoted mainly to current literature, but giving also a summary of news, which soon became celebrated for the accuracy of its political statistics. Mr. Greeley was the editor. The paper reached a circulation of 9,000, and was continued seven years, but was never profitable. While engaged upon it Mr. Greeley wrote the leading articles for the "Daily Whig" and also edited for one year, 1838-'9, the "Jeffersonian," a political weekly published at Albany. In 1840 he edited and published the "Log Cabin," a campaign weekly devoted to the advocacy of Garrison's election to the presidency, which attained a circulation of 80,000 copies. On April 10, 1841, he issued the first number of the "Daily Tribune," which he says was "a small sheet, for it was to be retailed for a cent." Mr. Greeley was at first sole proprietor and publisher, as well as chief editor; but he soon formed a partnership with Thomas McElrath, who took charge of the business department. The "Daily Tribune" started with 500 subscribers, and of the first issue 5,000 copies were printed and sold or given away. In the autumn of 1841 the "Weekly Tribune" was commenced, the "New Yorker" and "Log Cabin" being merged in it. With these journals Greeley was closely identified during the remainder of his life, so that in the popular mind "Tribune" and "Horace Greeley" were interchangeable terms; and of his work as a journalist and his influence on the rising profession of journalism he was confessedly and justly proud. In his autobiography he writes: "Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings; the only earthly certainty is oblivion; no man can foresee what a day may bring forth, while those who cheer to-day will often curse tomorrow; and yet I cherish the hope that the journal I projected and established will live and flourish long after I shall have mouldered into forgotten dust, being guided by a larger wisdom, a more unerring sagacity to discern the right, though not by a more unfaltering readiness to embrace and defend it at whatever personal cost; and that the stone which covers my ashes may bear to future eyes the still intelligible inscription, 'Founder of the New York Tribune.'" In 1848 he was elected to congress to fill a vacancy, and served from Dec. 1 of

that year till March 4, 1849, distinguishing himself by exposing and denouncing the abuses of the mileage system, but mainly through the columns of his journal, rather than from his place on the floor of the house. He was a warm advocate of industrial and social reforms, and was personally interested in the "North American Phalanx" (1843-'50), a socialist experiment near Red Bank, N. J., partly based upon the principles of Fourier. He labored zealously for the welfare of the poorer classes, and was a life-long opponent of slavery. Besides being continually busy with his editorial duties, he delivered numerous lectures and addresses at agricultural fairs, and occasional political speeches. His favorite topics were popular education, temperance, and labor organization. In 1851 he visited Europe, was a juror at the London crystal palace exhibition, and travelled rapidly through France, Italy, and Great Britain. In 1855 he made a second trip to Europe, spending six weeks in Paris. There he passed two days in prison, on the action of an obscure French sculptor, who claimed \$2,500 for damages to a statue which had been injured at the New York world's fair of 1853, of which Mr. Greeley was a director. He spent the winter of 1855-'6 in Washington, watching the memorable contest for the speakership and commenting on it in his letters to the "Tribune." For certain strictures on a resolution introduced by Albert Rust of Arkansas he was brutally assaulted by the latter in the capitol grounds, and was confined for several days by his injuries. In 1859 he visited California by the overland route, had public receptions in San Francisco and elsewhere, and addressed various assemblies on the Pacific railroad, political questions, &c. In 1860 he attended the republican national convention at Chicago, where he was largely instrumental in defeating the nomination of William H. Seward for president and securing that of Abraham Lincoln, though his preference was for Edward Bates of Missouri. This action was attributed to a personal feeling of resentment on the part of Greeley, which is explained by the following extracts from a letter dated Nov. 11, 1854, which he addressed privately to Mr. Seward, but demanded for publication when it was referred to by the latter's friends during the canvass of 1860: "The election is over, and its results sufficiently ascertained. It seems to me a fitting time to announce to you the dissolution of the political firm of Seward, Weed, and Greeley, by the withdrawal of the junior partner, said withdrawal to take effect on the morning after the first Tuesday in February next . . . I was a poor young printer and editor of a literary journal—a very active and bitter whig in a small way, but not seeking to be known out of my own ward committee—when, after the great political revolution of 1837, I was one day called to the City hotel, where two strangers introduced themselves as Thurlow Weed and Lewis Benedict of Albany. They told me that a cheap campaign paper of a peculiar stamp at Albany had been resolved on, and that I had been selected to edit it . . . I did the work required, to the best of my ability. It was work that made no figure, and created no sensation; but I loved it, and I did it well. When it was done, you were governor, dispensing offices worth \$3,000 to \$20,000 per year to your friends and compatriots, and I returned to my garret and my crust, and my desperate battle with pecuniary obligations heaped upon me by bad partners in business and the disastrous events of 1837. I believe it did not then occur to me that some one of these abundant places might have been offered to me without injustice; I now think it should have occurred to you . . . In the Harrison campaign of 1840 I was again designated to edit a campaign paper. I published it as well, and ought to have made something by it, in spite of its extremely low price; my extreme poverty was the main reason why I did not . . . Now came the great scramble of the swell mob of coon minstrels and cider-suckers at Washington, I not being counted in . . . I asked nothing, expected nothing; but you, Governor Seward, ought to have asked that I be postmaster of New York." In the beginning of the civil war Greeley declared himself in favor of allowing the southern states to secede from the Union, provided a majority of their citizens voted in favor of that course. When hostilities were actually commenced, he demanded their vigorous prosecution, and was popularly held

responsible for the "On to Richmond" cry, first uttered in the "Tribune," which preceded the defeat of Bull Run. In 1864, with the unofficial sanction of President Lincoln, he went to Clifton, Canada, to confer with George N. Sanders, Jacob Thompson, and Beverly Tucker, on the subject of peace. In that year also he was a presidential elector, and a delegate to the Philadelphia convention. At the close of the war he advocated a policy of universal amnesty with universal suffrage. In May, 1867, he signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis, thereby incurring so much popular censure at the north that the sale of his "History of the American Conflict," which had been very large on the publication of the first volume, suddenly stopped almost entirely on the second, then just issued. In 1869 he was the republican candidate for comptroller of the state of New York, but was defeated, though he received a larger vote than any other candidate on the ticket except Gen. Sigel. In 1870 he was a candidate for congress in the 6th N. C. New York district, and ran 300 votes ahead of the state ticket, but was defeated by the democratic candidate, S. S. Cox. Early in 1872 he made a journey to Texas, nominally for the purpose of delivering an address at the state agricultural fair and observing the industrial and commercial condition and prospects of the states he traversed; but probably the visit had also its political bearings, and he stopped at numerous places to make speeches and hold conferences with prominent citizens. On May 1 of that year a convention of so-called liberal republicans, who were dissatisfied with the administration, met at Cincinnati, and on the sixth ballot Mr. Greeley was nominated for president, B. Gratz Brown of Missouri being subsequently nominated for vice president. The democratic convention, which met at Baltimore in July, adopted these candidates and their platform. Mr. Greeley accepted the nomination, retired from the editorship of the "Tribune," and entered the canvass personally, travelling and speaking almost constantly till within a short time of the election. He received in the election 2,834,079 votes, against 3,597,070 for Grant, and carried the states of Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. His powers of endurance had been strained to the utmost in the canvass, which was unusually exciting, and in which his foibles, his personal habits, and his anomalous political position were unsparingly caricatured and ridiculed. During the last month of it he was watching by the bedside of his wife, who died a few days before the election. Shortly after, he was prostrated by a disorder of the brain and sank rapidly. His funeral, though simple, was perhaps the most impressive ever witnessed in New York. The body lay in state in the city hall, through which an unbroken stream of visitors passed for an entire day; and the funeral services were attended by the president and vice president of the United States, the vice president elect, the chief justice, and many other eminent citizens from distant places. He died with a full belief in the doctrines of Universalism, which he had held for many years.—About the year 1852 Mr. Greeley purchased a farm of 50 acres, afterward enlarged to 75, on the Harlem railroad, in the township of New Castle, Westchester co., 35 m. N. of New York. The railroad station there was known as Chappaqua, from the Indian name of a mill stream which ran through the place. Here for the last 20 years of his life he spent his Saturdays, working about the farm, his especial delight being in the woodland. His farming was not profitable, and was the subject of innumerable jests, all of which he took in good part, replying that he was only a farmer by proxy, and therefore did not expect to make money by it.—Mr. Greeley's published volumes are as follows: "Hints toward Reforms," consisting mainly of lectures and addresses (New York, 1850); "Glances at Europe" (1851); "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension" (1856); "Overland Journey to San Francisco" (1860); "The American Conflict" (2 vols., Hartford, 1864-'6); "Recollections of a Busy Life" (New York, 1868); "Essays designed to elucidate the Science of Political Economy" (Boston, 1870); and "What I Know of Farming" (New York, 1871). His life has been written by James Parton (New York, 1855; new ed., 1868), and by L. U. Reavis (1872). See also "A Memorial of Horace Greeley" (New York, 1873).

Crossing the Park at this point, we enter what is known as Printing-House Square, from the fact that the offices of the principal daily and weekly newspapers of New York are there located, including the large yellow-stone building of the *Times*, and the magnificent granite structure of the *Staats-Zeitung*. A bronze statue of Benjamin Franklin, erected under the auspices of Captain Benjamin De Groot in 1871, also appropriately marks the place. The buildings in view stand on the edge of what was known in old times as "Beekman's Swamp." The low grounds are now occupied by the substantial warehouses of the wholesale dealers in leather, and the neighborhood is still known in the trade as being of the *New York Tribune* is been supplanted by a new structure year (1875). This new edition of the handsomest newspaper-of-composite of red pressed brick, one story higher than the West is the highest building on Manhattan covered by it extends ninety feet one hundred feet upon Spruce sixty-five feet north to Frankfort street of nearly twenty-nine feet, will be a lofty clock-tower, visibility, than which the *Tribune* more suitable monument to the

"the Swamp." The drab building is missed from its old site, having been completed within the present year is the largest and, perhaps, fine in the world. Its style is a granite, marble, and iron. It is the new Union Telegraph Office, and Manhattan Island. The ground upon Printing-House Square, Street, thence one hundred and Street, with a frontage upon that Above the nine stories there able from all points around the Association could not erect a advancing power of journalism.



The New "Tribune" Building in Printing-House Square.

Horace Greeley (1811-1872)

The Wolf Magazine of Letters

November 1942

Grief lends eloquence even to the most gifted pen. Witness this letter written by famed journalist Horace Greeley shortly after the loss of his son.

July 15, 1848

My Friend,

The loss of my boy makes a great change in my feelings, plans and prospects. The joy of my life was comprehended in his, and I do not now feel that any personal object can strongly move me henceforth. I had thought of buying a country place, but it was for him. I had begun to love flowers and beautiful objects, because he liked them. Now, all that deeply concerns me is the evidence that we shall live hereafter, and especially that we shall live with and know those we loved here. I mean to act my part while life is spared me, but I no longer covet length of days. If I felt sure on the point of identifying and being with our loved ones in the world to come, I would prefer not to live long. As it is, I am resigned to whatever may be divinely ordered.

We had but few hours to prepare for our loss. He went to bed as hearty and happy as ever. At 5 a. m. he died....His mother had bought him a fiddle the day before, which delighted him beyond measure; and he was only induced to lay it up at night by his delight at the idea of coming up in the morning and surprising me by playing on it before I got up. In the morning at daylight I was called to his bedside. The next day, I followed him to his grave! You cannot guess how golden and lovely his long hair (never cut) looked in the coffin.

Pickie was five years old last March. So much grace and wit and poetry were rarely or never blended in so young a child, and to us his form and features were the perfection of beauty. We can never have another child, and life cannot be long enough to efface, though it will temper this sorrow.....

Horace Greeley





Lincoln Lore

January, 1978

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Number 1679

THURLOW WEED, THE NEW YORK CUSTOM HOUSE, AND MRS. LINCOLN'S "TREASON"

In January, 1975, *Lincoln Lore* published an article proving that Abraham Lincoln did not appear before the Committee on the Conduct of the War to defend his wife from allegations of treason. The source of the erroneous story about Lincoln's appearance was Thomas L. James, a New Yorker who served as Postmaster General in President Garfield's cabinet. It was easy to prove that James could not have heard the story, as he claimed, from a Senator who had been a member of that committee, because all but two of the Senators were dead by the time James claimed to hear the story (1881). Of the remaining two, one was of the opposition party (and would never have sat upon a story that could kill the Republican party), and the other retired to Oregon after one term in the Senate (and had no opportunity to see James).

The story obviously was not true, but where did it come from? Why did this relatively obscure New York politician, whose name otherwise never appeared in the Lincoln story, become the source for this famous Lincoln anecdote? In 1975, there seemed to be no answer to this question. Now it is possible to establish a plausible connection between James and the allegations against Mrs. Lincoln, but to do so will require a historical excursion to the docks of New York City, an examination of a rare pamphlet which Jay Monaghan failed to list in his *Lincoln Bibliography*, and a brief discussion of the seamier side of American politics.

Hardly a patronage prize in nineteenth-century American politics was sought after more ardently than the collectorship of the New York Custom House. As far back as 1841, a correspondent had warned Presidential-hopeful Henry Clay that the position in the New York Custom House was "second only in influence to that of Postmaster-General." By the time of the Civil War, the collector's salary was \$6,340, and he could expect to earn another \$20,000 from fees. The Custom House perhaps employed 1,200 people, all of whom gave two percent of their salaries to the coffers of the party that got them their jobs in the first

place. It is little wonder that this prize whetted political appetites all over the country.

The New York Custom House was often the focus of unseemly intra-party feuds in the Empire State. The period of Lincoln's Presidency was no exception, and a dispute over the Custom House marred New York politics throughout the Civil War. It became the focus of a long-standing feud between the wing of the Republican party controlled by William H. Seward and his henchman Thurlow Weed, on the one hand, and the wing controlled by Horace Greeley and William Cullen Bryant, on the other. There were many smaller feuds and many irregular twists and turns, but the existence of animosity between Seward and Greeley, two men of enormous talents and ambitions, kept the fires of conflict raging in New York Republican politics.

Since Seward was in Washington as Secretary of State for the entire period of Lincoln's Presidency, the local feud in New York centered above all on the personality and politics of Thurlow Weed. When the Lincoln administration first took office, Weed gave the impression that he would be the conduit through which all administration patronage in New York would flow. President Lincoln informed Weed, however, that his motto in such matters was "justice to all" and that Weed did not have Lincoln's "authority to arrange" all such matters in New York.

Endeavoring "to apply the rule of give and take," President Lincoln first appointed Hiram Barney to the collectorship. He was an enemy of Weed's faction, and he appointed, among others, Rufus F. Andrews to the position of Surveyor of the Port of New York, one of the many offices the collector could appoint. Despite their appointments, however, the bulk of the Custom House offices went to partisans of Weed and Seward.

In 1862, Barney used Custom House patronage to help nominate James S. Wadsworth for Governor of New York. Wadsworth was an anti-Weed Republican, and he would run against Democrat Horatio



FIGURE 1. Thurlow Weed.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

Seymour. Seymour won, and Wadsworth's supporters claimed that Weed had stabbed the Republican candidate in the back. Weed's explanation was different. True, he said, he had supported a renomination of Governor Edwin D. Morgan to run on a platform strictly of support for reuniting the Union. It was also true that Weed had been disappointed by not having the ticket "ballasted" by a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor friendly to Weed, that "Weed men" were carefully excluded from the state committee, that the party headquarters were moved from Albany (Weed's upstate bailiwick) to New York City, and that Wadsworth took an "abolition" line in his speeches despite Weed's pleading with him to take a strictly "Union" line. Nevertheless, when Wadsworth's managers came to Weed out of desperation because they could not raise money for the canvass, he let bygones be bygones and called out his party workers. They went to work too late, but in Weed's estimation he had been faithful to the party when it needed him.

Despite occasional setbacks like the disastrous Wadsworth nomination, Thurlow Weed managed to dominate, if not control completely, the Custom House. This was increasingly true as his enemies in the party and in the Custom House became identified with Salmon P. Chase's bid for the Republican nomination for President in 1864. At a meeting of the state committee from which Chase supporters were absent, Weed managed to get an endorsement for Lincoln's renomination.

In September, Chase's supporters (and many of Weed's enemies) were removed from the Custom House. Collector Barney and Surveyor Rufus Andrews were among those removed. Andrews, who had been a delegate to the convention in Baltimore which nominated Lincoln, took an active part in the campaign for his election anyway. About a month after the election, Andrews published an angry letter in the New York *Tribune* savagely attacking Weed. The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum has recently acquired a rare copy of the letter as a separately published pamphlet entitled, *Letter of Rufus F. Andrews, Lately Surveyor of the Port of New York, to Thurlow Weed, Lately Editor of the Albany Evening Journal* (New York: 1864). This choice example of nineteenth-century political vituperation discussed the Custom House removals of September. It was published on the eve of Thurlow Weed's trial in a \$50,000 damage suit brought against him by George Opdyke, Mayor of New York City and an adherent of the Greeley faction. The libel suit was an outgrowth of the factional wars in New York and, especially, of Weed's attacks on his rivals. Weed had accused Greeley of involvement, through a friend, in shady speculations in Southern cotton. Weed had charged Isaac Henderson, who was a proprietor of William Cullen Bryant's newspaper and a Lincoln appointee as Navy Agent for New York, of graft and illicit commissions on government contracts. He accused Opdyke of sitting on a committee which awarded a \$190,000 indemnity for a gun factory destroyed in the 1863 draft riots — a gun factory in which Opdyke had a personal financial interest. He said, too, that Opdyke had secret partnerships which led to profits from government contracts for cloth, blankets, clothing, and guns. Opdyke was further alleged to have been involved in the Mariposa Mining Company, which swindled General John C. Frémont. Opdyke pressed a suit for libel, and Andrews's letter appeared at a strategic moment — the day before the trial began.

Andrews claimed that he waited until after the Presidential election to write for fear that "to avenge personal wrongs might damage the cause of Republican government and free institutions" at such a critical time. He said that he met Weed first in the winter of 1857-1858. A young lawyer from New York City, Andrews was flattered by Weed's attention and became one of his partisans ("you and I were thrown a great deal together in politics"). In 1860, Andrews worked for Lincoln's election, and in 1861 he got the reward of the politician who chooses the right Presidential horse; he was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New York. At that point, Andrews said, "I yielded to your entreaties, and gave to you for your friends a large proportion of the best places in my gift."

Then a remarkable thing happened. In 1863, according to Andrews, Weed became "severe in . . . denunciations of the President," proclaimed him an "old Imbecile," judged the war a "failure," and called Lincoln's "advising ministers a corrupt and inefficient cabal." Finally, Andrews continued,

. . . in the spring of 1863, in a public hotel of the city of New

York, you announced to an indiscriminate audience that the wife of the President of the United States was guilty of treasonable conduct, and that by order of the Secretary of War that lady had been banished [from] the Capital; an order which you declared was too long delayed! This occurred in my hearing, and I promptly denied the statement, and branded it as the invention of malicious mendacity.

Mrs. Lincoln arrived in New York that very evening, Andrews said, and he "called to pay her" his "accustomed respects." He also expressed his "surprise at hearing she had been ordered to leave Washington." Astonished and indignant, Mrs. Lincoln demanded the source of the allegation. Andrews told. Weed subsequently "went to Washington, and sued for and received pardon" for his offense, but he never forgave Andrews for his "interposition upon behalf of a slandered woman."

In my zeal to save the first American lady from aspersion [Andrews wrote], I incurred the wrath of her defamer, and from that hour how to destroy me became his chief ambition. Thenceforward your hatred to me had no boundary but your capacity for harm.

Andrews claimed that Weed tried unsuccessfully to keep him from becoming a delegate to the Republican nominating convention in 1864. Andrews quoted Weed's letter in the Albany *Evening Journal* of June 11, 1864, which charged that "a formidable and organized body of ultra abolitionists, 'loyal leaguers,' and radical demagogues appeared at Baltimore, for the purpose . . . of procuring the nomination of Mr. Dickinson for Vice-President, that Mr. Seward might be excluded from the Cabinet. In this miserable intrigue the ultraists of Massachusetts cuddled with the slime of New York." In particular, Weed noted that "Mr. Lincoln's Surveyor of the port of New York, was among the most unscrupulous traducers of Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State." To put a New Yorker in the Vice-Presidency would be to remove Seward from the Cabinet, for it was assumed that Lincoln would not have two New Yorkers among his closest advisors. Andrews denied the charge and called Seward "a statesman of whom the nation may be justly proud." Andrews also noted Weed's letter of June 25, 1864, which attacked George Opdyke, who had brought suit against him; Weed asked him to explain "the alleged sale of the office of Surveyor of the port of New York for the moderate sum of \$10,000." Again, Andrews denied the charge and said, "I have been subpoenaed as a witness in the case of Opdyke vs. Weed, and am happy in the belief that you are to be gratified on this point of the 'alleged sale,' whenever the trial of that cause shall take place."

Andrews explained his own downfall as Weed's effort to save his power. Having beaten Weed's forces and served as a delegate in the nominating convention, Andrews was a symbol of Weed's inability to control New York's party. He had to be removed. Andrews charged that Weed had friends tell Lincoln that he would not support him for President in 1864 if Andrews was retained. "I was dismissed, and you triumphed," Andrews concluded, but, "not imputing blame to the President, I devoted my time, money, and efforts to securing his re-election to the office which he adorns."

Such was Andrews's remarkable story, but one thing has been left out, the extreme language he used to tell it. He called Weed a "demagogue," a "hypocrite," and an "ingrate." He recalled Weed's well-known nicknames in opposition circles, "the Old Man," "the Lucifer of the Lobby," and "Fagin the Jew." He referred to Weed's retirement from the editorship of the Albany *Evening Journal* in 1863 and claimed that Weed dodged military service because of a "sprained wrist." "Why don't you emulate the last virtue of Judas Iscariot," Andrews asked, "and hang yourself?" In addition to name-calling, Andrews made a point of Weed's disloyalty to the Lincoln administration. He dated Weed's impatience with the President from the fall of 1862:

According to your expressed views, nothing was right. In civil and military life everything was wrong. The policy of the Government was condemned by you in unmeasured terms. The principles of liberty were sneeringly alluded to by you as weak devices of fanatics and abolitionists. The appointments to office were "not fit to be made."

Certainly, not all that Andrews said was true. For example, Weed's resignation letter claimed "an infirm leg and a broken arm" as reasons for not going to military service; besides, "the

"Old Man" was sixty-five years old. On the other hand, Andrews's letter is not without its uses. Harry J. Carman and Reinhard Luthin in *Lincoln and the Patronage* term Weed "a loyal supporter of the administration," and so he was when the chips were down. Yet, he did have his differences with the administration, and Andrews's letter serves to alert us to the nature and degree of those differences.

Weed had his principal differences with what his grandson and memorialist Thurlow Weed Barnes called "the radical section of the Republican party." In his letter announcing his retirement from his newspaper, Weed said:

I differ widely with my party about the best means of crushing the Rebellion. That difference is radical and irreconcilable. I can neither impress others with my views, nor surrender my own solemn convictions. The alternative of living in strife with those whom I have esteemed, or withdrawing, is presented. I have not hesitated in choosing the path of peace as the path of duty.

These differences clearly centered around the Emancipation Proclamation. Though Weed apparently issued an endorsement of the Proclamation as a document which even "the most ungenerous enemies of our cause will be compelled to respect," he must not have cared for it very much. In late 1862 and early 1863, Weed was in the forefront of attempts to unite on a Democrat like Horatio Seymour or General McClellan to lead a Union party on a platform of simply reuniting the Union. After the draft riots, he wrote Henry Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, offering a 500 dollar con-

tribution "for the relief of the colored people whose dwellings were robbed and who were driven from their employment." In the course of doing so, Weed wrote:

For this persecution of the negro there is divided responsibility. The hostility of Irishmen to Africans is unworthy of men who themselves seek and find in America an asylum from oppression. Yet this hostility would not culminate in arson and murder but for the stimulants applied by fanatics. Journalists who persistently inflame and exasperate the ignorant and the lawless against the negro are morally responsible for these outrages. When all the circumstances have been reviewed, the popular condemnation of those who, while the United States was struggling for its existence, thrust the unoffending negro forward as a target for infuriated mobs, will become general and emphatic.

In South Carolina ultra Abolitionists have been hailed as the "best friends" of secession. Practically, they are the worst enemies of the colored man. Had it not been for the malign influence of these howling fanatics in Congress and with the President, rebellion would not, in the beginning, have assumed such formidable proportions; nor, in its progress, would the North have been divided or the government crippled . . .

The abolitionists had too much influence on Lincoln to suit Thurlow Weed. In the summer and autumn of 1863, he devised a plan to end the war which he submitted to President Lincoln, and there was no abolition in it. It called for the President "to issue a proclamation offering pardon and amnesty to all persons engaged in making war upon the government" as soon as there was a military success. A ninety-day armistice should follow, during which any states which returned to their former allegiance would be fully restored to the privileges they enjoyed before the war. After the armistice, any states refusing pardon would be affected by another proclamation "announcing that in the future prosecution of the war . . . , all territory, whether farms, villages, or cities, shall be PARTITIONED equitably between and among the officers and soldiers by whom it shall be conquered." This was an interesting proposition, for what do we make of Weed's self-conscious opposition to radicalism when his own plan embodied the most radical plan ever proposed by Republican politicians, the partitioning of Southern plantations? The only difference was not in degree of radicalism but in the particular social group to be served. Weed's helped white Northerners and the "radical" proposal helped black Southerners. Each was socially revolutionary, and Weed defended his policy as a social and political revolution:

Your armies [Weed told Lincoln] will be voluntarily and promptly recruited, and their ranks filled with enterprising, earnest yeomen, who have an intelligent reason for entering the army, and who know that the realization of their hopes depends upon their zeal, fidelity, and courage. And by thus providing homes and occupations when the war is over for our disbanded soldiers, you leave scattered over rebel territory an element that may be relied upon for the reconstruction of civil government in the seceded states. Each plan was potentially bloody:

In answer to those who may object [Weed wrote the President] to the sanguinary feature of this plan, I think it quite sufficient to say that in maritime wars this feature has long been recognized and practiced by all civilized nations. Argosies of merchant vessels, laden with untold millions of the wealth of non-combatants, captured in time of war, are divided as prize money among the officers and sailors by whom they are captured. This, therefore, in all wars upon the oceans and seas of the world, being a part of the law of nations, cannot, in reason or common-sense, be objected to, whereas, in this case, the sufferers are in rebellion against their government, and have been warned of the consequences of rejecting the most liberal offers of peace, protection, and prosperity.

If we may judge by Weed's conservatism, the only difference between the wings of the Republican party was not their relative degree of constitutional flexibility or even sanguinary desires for social revolution; their difference was over whether to help the black man or not.

This is not to say, of course, that the differences between Weed and Andrews, or in general between the Weed faction



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. The "Old Man."

and the Greeley faction, involved anything so high-minded and ideological as policy alternatives towards the black race. True, factions do use issues and sometimes use them long enough to become identified over a period of time with one issue or another. But there was a lot more at work in New York's factionalism than philosophical disagreements over policy. Personal ambitions were a major factor; there were only so many offices to be filled, and many talented Republicans vied for them. Here, for example, is Weed's explanation of the opposition to the renomination of Governor Morgan in 1862:

Mr. Greeley still aspired to the Senate, and Governor Morgan, a resident of New York, was in his way. He therefore urged the nomination of General Wadsworth, a western man, of Democratic antecedents, so that the field for the Senate might remain open.

Though jaundiced, of course, this explanation has nothing to do with issues, and it serves to remind us of a factor of overriding importance in New York politics, the upstate-New York City conflict. From the era of the ratification of the United States Constitution to the Civil War to the present day, this rivalry has been great enough to cause threats that the city would secede from the state. In a rough way, one can understand the Seward/Weed-Greeley feud by the simple notion that the former men were from upstate and the latter from New York City.

But in all the welter of confusion over Republican factionalism in New York, we have almost lost track of the accusations about Mrs. Lincoln's treason. The importance of the emergence of that story in this wrangle over patronage is not that it makes the story any more verifiable or understandable, but that it links the story to Thomas L. James. For James got his political education in the New York Custom House. *From 1861 to 1864, James served as inspector of customs for the port of New York.* Moreover, James was married four times: his first wife was Emily Ida Freeburn, a niece of Thurlow Weed. His second wife was her sister. *He was twice married to nieces of Thurlow Weed!* We can now understand better how Thomas L. James became the source for the famous

story about Mrs. Lincoln's treason. As a Custom House appointee throughout the war years, James was present to witness the Andrews-Weed feud. Moreover, as Weed's relative by marriage, he had more reason than most to take note of the charge that Weed had accused Mrs. Lincoln of treason. Of course, the story of the President's appearance before the Committee on the Conduct of the War was not included, but the seventeen years that would intervene before James told the story would cloud the memory, alter details, and embellish the story. At last we know that James had some connection to allegations of Mrs. Lincoln's treason.

What of Rufus Andrews? He never got his job back, but it is hard to arouse much pity for him. He was the ultimate spoilsman. Our principal source of knowledge about Andrews is five letters written by him and preserved in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress. They reveal the other side of the pamphleteer who claimed to defend Mrs. Lincoln's honor. One letter is a recommendation for office (July 2, 1862). One is his letter saying he will sacrifice himself "to the insatiable thirst of revenge, and the senile lust of power" for the sake of his party (August 31, 1864). Another, written one day later, places him and a fellow campaigner for Lincoln at Willard's Hotel in Washington, hoping Lincoln will call them to come and explain Andrews's case. The other two letters, though they do not mention any issues or personalities of the Civil War era, are the most revealing of all. Both were written several months before his removal from office. On January 15, 1864, he wrote President Lincoln: "I send you by express this day, a Saddle of English Mutton, received by the Scotia [sic]. I hope the disposition of the English may hereafter be as good as their mutton." And again on February 27, 1864, he sent "by express . . . some English mutton just received from the other side of the world — I hope it may reach you in time for your dinner tomorrow." Whether it was a tribute to Weed's clout or Lincoln's lack of susceptibility to the little favors extended from the New York Custom House, a little English mutton was not enough to keep Rufus Andrews in office.



FIGURE 3. Horatio Seymour and George McClellan as Republicans saw them by 1864.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum



Lincoln Lore

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Number 1710

BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865

The Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum is sponsoring an exhibit of popular prints of Abraham Lincoln in the Cannon Office Building of the House of Representatives in February and March of 1981. The exhibit, nestled in the arches of the handsome rotunda of the Cannon Building, is open to the public and free of charge. The customary traffic in this building consists of people who are themselves politicians, who work for politicians, or who call on politicians, and the exhibit naturally focuses on Lincoln's political image.

The heyday of public relations and propaganda arrived only with the First World War, and America's nineteenth-century Presidents had little awareness of the powers of conscious image-making. The Lincoln administration, which at its height had a White House staff of three secretaries, employed none of the elaborate apparatus of modern image-conscious politicians. Imagery was the province of, among others, the popular printmakers of the day.

Abraham Lincoln and the graphic arts in America grew up together. Neither took much notice of the other until 1860, when Lincoln became the Republican nominee for President. Suddenly the Republican party needed pictures of him for campaign posters, and the voters wanted to know what he looked like. Lincoln's looks were an issue well before most people had seen a picture of him, for it was widely rumored that he was ugly. Lincoln was genuinely modest about his looks, and he took notice of the graphic arts only when they were forced upon his attention. He rarely commented on the various portraits of him produced after he became a national political figure. He confessed that he knew "nothing" of such matters, that he had an "unpracticed eye," and that he was, in truth, "a very indifferent judge" of the artistic merits of efforts to capture his likeness.

Lincoln's Presidential nomination in 1860 surprised nearly everyone. The first mass-produced likeness of him, an engraving by F. H. Brown of Chicago, appeared only at the nominating convention itself. Lincoln had been so seldom photographed before 1860 that

the printmaker had to copy his likeness from a photograph taken in Chicago in 1857, a photograph noted for the disorderly appearance of Lincoln's hair. Printmakers needed more photographs of the candidate and more gentlemanly poses. Numerous sittings for photographers and for painters with commissions from Republican patrons demanding that they make the candidate "good looking whether the original would justify it or not" soon solved the problem of models from which the printmakers could work, and the great process of Presidential image-making began.

Popular prints relied on sentimentalism, sensationalism, and satire. Sensational pictures of fires and other disasters had helped make lithography a growth industry in the 1840s, and, during Lincoln's Presidency, the printmakers would capitalize on battle scenes to continue this form of appeal. Sentimentalism, however, was the dominant motif of popular prints, just as it dominated popular literature. Politics lent

themselves more to satire than sentiment, and Presidential campaigns always boosted the cartoon industry. In the end, nevertheless, sentimentalism triumphed — a victory so complete that the political cartoons of Lincoln still appear a little strange to us.

They appear strange, too, because the nature of the art of political cartooning was quite different in Lincoln's era from that of today. For one thing, cartoons were a part of the print business. Most were poster cartoons issued as separate prints by firms like Currier & Ives, more famous today for nostalgic landscapes and sentimental genre pictures. These firms put business ahead of politics and produced both pro- and anti-Lincoln cartoons. Sometimes the same artist produced cartoons on both sides of a political question. Louis Maurer (1832-1932) drew both "Honest Abe Taking Them on the Half Shell," predicting that Lincoln would gobble up the Democratic politicians grown fat from their long years in office, and "The Rail Candidate," one of the better anti-Lincoln cartoons of the campaign. Another difference from modern political art is that cartoonists did not go in for



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. How the people first saw Lincoln.



HONEST ABE TAKING THEM ON THE HALF SHELL.

*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 2. Louis Maurer guessed at Lincoln's grin.

caricature, which dominates modern political cartoons. Instead of exaggerating physical features which characterized a politician's face, they copied the faces slavishly from available photographs. Maurer's "Honest Abe" is adventuresome in attempting to depict Lincoln's smile. Lincoln never smiled in his photographs, and to this day no one knows what his teeth looked like. Humor usually stemmed only from the improbable situations in which the cartoonists placed the politicians or from balloons of language, often filled with obscure puns.

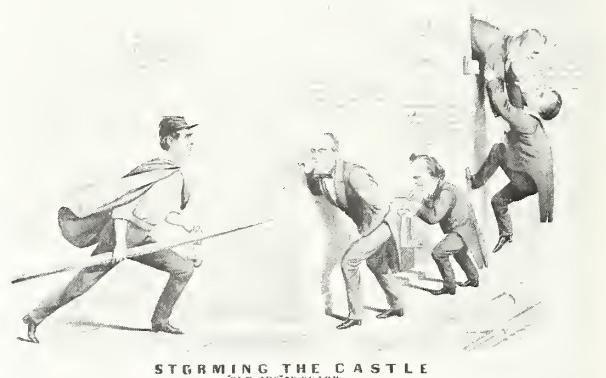
The political cartoons of Lincoln's day were not forward-looking in terms of method. They are, therefore, all the better as documents of the social and political beliefs of that era. They are cluttered with figures and words, and the social stereotypes in the backgrounds of the cartoons are a vivid index of the lowest common denominator of public opinion.

In 1860 the cartoonists, their pens ready to attack William H. Seward, the front-runner for the Republican nomination, were as astonished as most American voters were at Lincoln's nomination. Like the voters, they knew almost nothing about him. They seized with alacrity on the few available scraps of colorful information about Lincoln. Republicans touted Lincoln as the "Railsplitter," and a rail became essential in Lincoln cartoons. He was often depicted in a workingman's blouse rather than the customary coat and tie of most candidates, but, no matter the attire, he almost always had a rail handy. He might use his rail to fend off candidates trying to break into the White House; he might exercise on it; or he might use it to drive the wildcat of sectional discord back into the Republican bag.

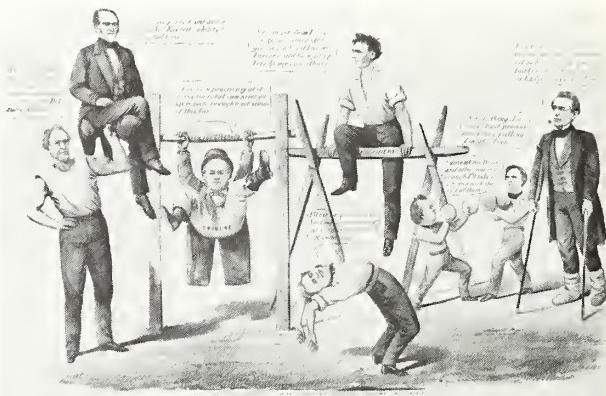


*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 3. Maurer put the anti-Lincoln elements together in their simplest form.



STORMING THE CASTLE OLD ABE ON GUARD.



THE POLITICAL GYMNASIUM.



LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG!!

*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 4. Railing at the candidate.

The standard anti-Lincoln cartoon in 1860 contained four elements: Lincoln, a rail, Horace Greeley, and a black man. Greeley was a cartoonist's delight, almost a self-caricature. The moon-faced outspoken reformer wore a long white duster, its pockets crammed with pamphlets and papers. Over the years, Greeley had flirted with a myriad of reforms, some of them quite radical, and he came to symbolize the crank reformer on the enthusiastic lunatic fringe of the Republican party. His presence in the cartoons was a reminder of the allegedly dangerous and radical impulses in the Republican party.

One need not look long at political cartoons in Lincoln's era to see evidence of the pervasive racism of nineteenth-century American popular opinion. The presence of black men, women, girls, boys, and babies in Lincoln cartoons was meant



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 5. Adalbert Volck was among the best.

to stand as a warning of the racial results of Republican anti-slavery policies.

Lincoln was so little known that cartoonists assumed he was a nonentity who would dance to the tune of more powerful figures in the Republican party. Often, he was not even the central figure in their busy cartoons, and Lincoln's failure to take over the central spot in these cartoons is an unconscious sign of the artists' inability to take him seriously. What seemed serious was the threat that the reform impulse represented by Greeley and the Negro might at last seize control of the country on the coattails of this unobjectionable but innocuous candidate.

The greatest satirical talent in American graphic art in Lincoln's day was located in the camp of the opposition. Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912) was a Baltimore dentist who had come to the United States from Bavaria. He probably received some training in the graphic arts in Europe, as did many other American artists in Lincoln's day, but Baltimore shaped his political opinions. Maryland, though it did not secede, was a slave state, and opposition to the Republican party in the state was virulent. Volck was decidedly pro-Southern and loathed the Lincoln administration.

Volck's considerable technical skills as an etcher were united with a sharp satirical eye. In one of the most brilliantly conceived and skillfully executed prints of the period, Volck pictured Lincoln as a hopelessly idealistic Don Quixote, carrying a John Brown pike instead of a lance, accompanied by that sordid reminder of Northern materialism, Benjamin



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 6. Literary allusions were common.



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

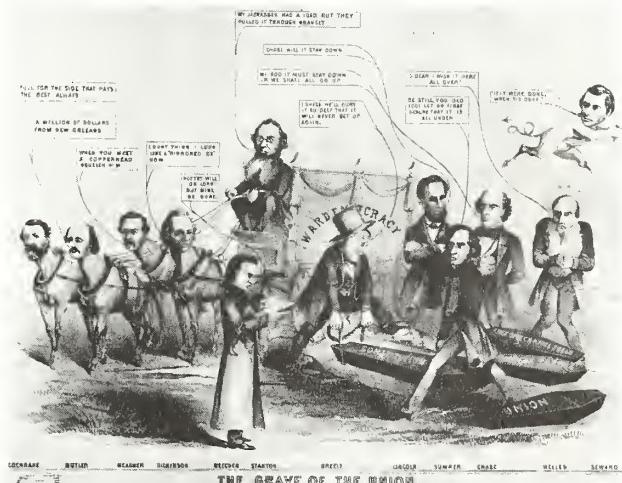
FIGURE 7. Benjamin Butler is Falstaff.

F. Butler, as Sancho Panza, complete with stolen Southern cutlery in his belt. Volck's cartoons also played on fevered fears of doom for the white race if the North were victorious in the Civil War.

Volck's work is sometimes carelessly thought of as Confederate cartoons, the only vigorous Southern counterpart of Thomas Nast's pro-Republican cartoons in the North. In truth, Nast was very young and not particularly active during the Civil War, and Volck's satirical etchings were really Copperhead cartoons, the product of anti-Lincoln sentiment in the North. Volck was apparently never arrested for producing the prints nor for his more treasonous activities like smuggling spies and medicines to the Confederacy. His art stands as a visual embodiment of the political atmosphere which led a group of Maryland men (and one D. C. pharmacist's assistant) eventually to murder President Lincoln. John Wilkes Booth, a Maryland native, led the group.

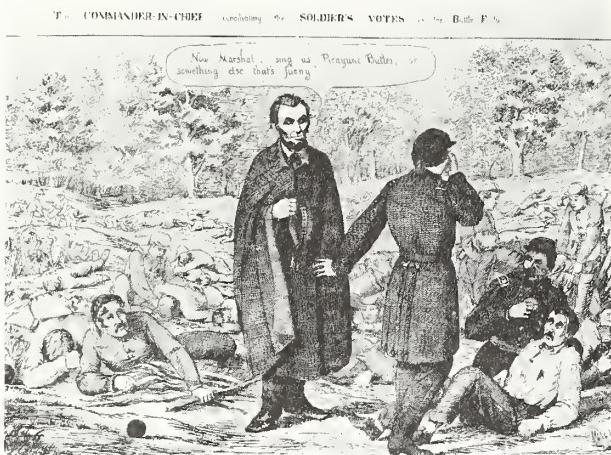
By 1864 printmakers knew more about Lincoln, and their work during his bid for reelection seized on some entirely new themes. The rail was gone, and no single symbol so dominated cartoons as it had done four years earlier. Its nearest competitor was Lincoln's reputation for telling jokes. This quality endears him to twentieth-century Americans, but it was less clearly a political asset in Lincoln's earnest Victorian era. Cartoonists frequently attacked him as a mere frontier joker — too small for the job of President.

Two of the better cartoons of the 1864 campaign capitalized on Lincoln's reputation as a lover of Shakespeare's works. J. H. Howard depicted Lincoln's Democratic rival for the Presidency, George B. McClellan, as Hamlet, holding the



*From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum*

FIGURE 8. A crowded but effective cartoon.



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 9. A cartoon for the ugly mood of 1864.

skull of Lincoln as Yorick and asking, "Where be your gibes now?" Thus the artist combined his knowledge of Lincoln's reputation for joking and for reading Shakespeare's works. Another cartoonist moved away from merely associating Lincoln with black people to turning Lincoln into a black man himself. Shakespeare provided the artful mechanism for doing so: the cartoonist depicted Lincoln as Othello. This print lacked the simplicity of conception of Howard's cartoon, but the crowded stage contained other figures who symbolized controversial acts of the Lincoln administration. Secretary of State Seward, seated at Lincoln's left, had once been in charge of arrests of disloyal persons in the North. Rumor had it that Seward had once boasted to the English ambassador that he could ring a little bell and cause the arrest of anyone in the United States.

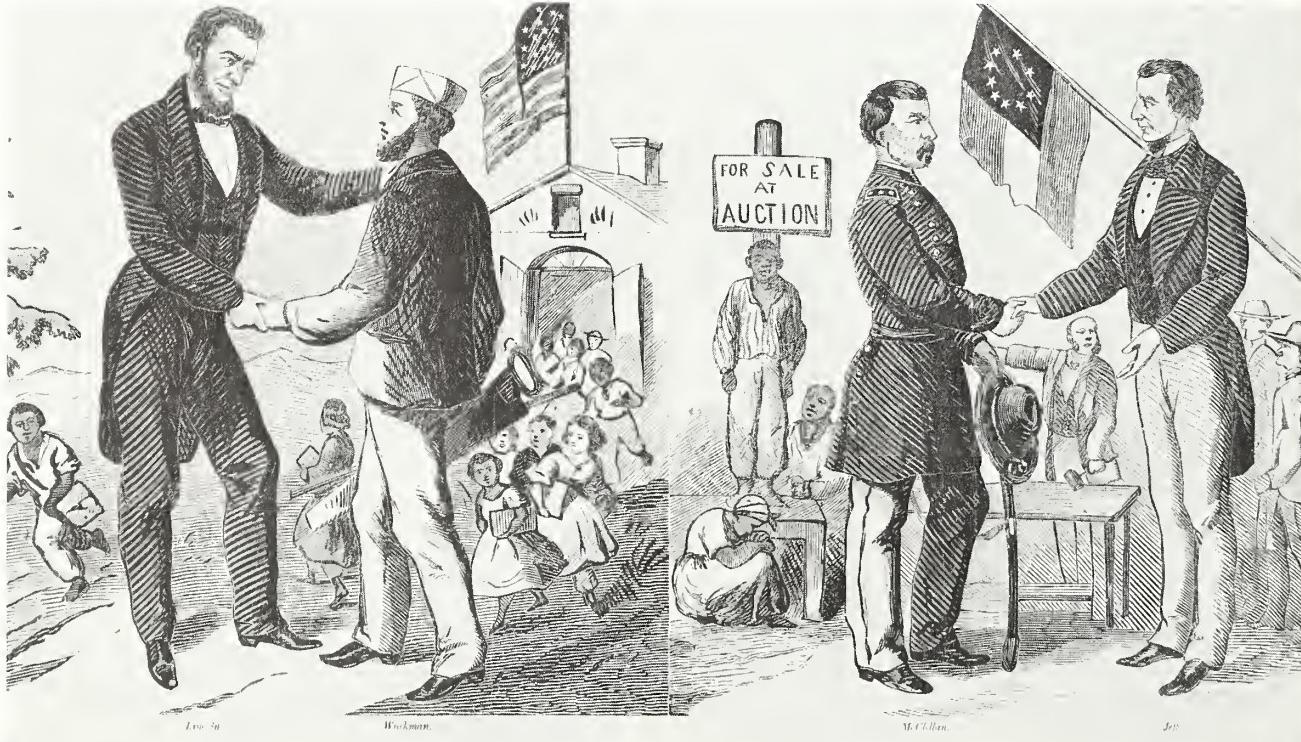
The story about Seward was doubtless untrue, but its fame was revealing of the anxiety aroused by the suspension of some traditional American liberties in the North during the Civil War. The Democrats were bereft of their traditional

appeals to economic discontent by high wartime employment. Lincoln frustrated some of their appeals to racism by claiming that the Emancipation Proclamation was essential to provide the man power necessary to win the war. The issue of civil liberties was about the only one left in the Democratic arsenal. "The Grave of the Union" added to the traditional figures of Lincoln, Greeley, and a black baby (under Henry Ward Beecher's arm), portraits of those "War Democrats" who served the Lincoln administration, most notably the driver of the hearse, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

Lincoln's reputation for humor did not prevent the creation of sinister images of the President. The story that Lincoln had asked his friend Ward Hill Lamon to sing a vulgar and humorous tune on a visit to the Antietam battlefield led to one of the most darkly effective anti-Lincoln cartoons of the Civil War. In truth, Lincoln asked for the tune to cheer him up after the gloomy visit. He was miles from the battlefield when the event occurred. All the bodies on the field had been buried long ago. The spurious charge was so effective, however, that Lincoln prepared a long letter for the press explaining the event. In the end, he decided not to issue it, and the story was not effectively scotched until 1895 when Lamon published a facsimile of Lincoln's letter in his *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*.

The Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation brought rapid (and, unfortunately, temporary) changes in the customary depiction of black people in popular art. "Union and Liberty! And Union and Slavery!" contained the common message of Republican cartoons that McClellan's election was tantamount to a victory for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy. It also contained in the background an unusual depiction of racial harmony, as white and black children emerged from a school. Such an image was unthinkable four years earlier.

This issue of *Lincoln Lore* has focused principally on the satirical vein in popular prints of Lincoln. There was a sentimental counterattack, and the next issue will focus on those prints in the exhibit which made Lincoln's image what it is today. In the meantime, if you happen to be in the Washington area, please drop by the Cannon Office Building to view "BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE: Lincoln in Graphic Art, 1860-1865."



UNION AND LIBERTY!

AND

UNION AND SLAVERY!

From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 10. This appeal to the white workingman contains an unusual vision of racial harmony.



- Greeley Museums



- ELIZABETH FEHRINGER/gtphoto@greeleytribune.com

Exhibit funding

Funding for the display of Nast cartoons at the Greeley Museum was provided by the Arvila Meeker Questers Chapter of Greeley. The \$1,000 grant — half from the Colorado State Questers and half from the local Arvila Meeker group — allowed the museum to scan the original prints and display them without harm from light exposure.

"We are grateful to the Questers for helping make this 'Tycoon versus Cartoon' exhibit possible," Museums manager Erin Quinn said. "We look forward to displaying them."

The downtown Museum is located at 714 8th St.

GREELEY AND GREELEY

When Nathan Meeker founded the Union Colony in 1870, the pioneers named the town Greeley, after Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune. Greeley famously advised "Go West, young man" and helped promote the settlement of the new colony. Greeley visited his namesake town only once, on Oct. 12, 1870. The entire town turned out to cheer him. He stayed one day and returned to New York.

war for the Confederacy's President Jefferson Davis.

Greeley Museums exhibit showcases 1870s cartoons skewering Horace Greeley

MIKE PETERS,

We think editorial cartoons today are rough.

They're nothing compared to what happened to Horace Greeley — the man our city was named for — when he ran for office in the 1870s.

Now, a collection of cartoons from 140 years ago, targeting Greeley's namesake, actually shows how brutal editorial cartoons were.

The Greeley Museums are displaying the cartoons of Thomas Nast, who drew for Harper's Weekly, one of the country's most influential newspapers in the 1870s. Those cartoons targeted Greeley, who was running for president against Ulysses S. Grant. Greeley represented the Liberal Republican Party and the Democrats, Grant was a Republican, and Nast hated Greeley.

The cartoons were donated to the museum by Gerald Shadwick, retired University of Northern Colorado professor and former president of the Greeley National Bank.

"We were in New Mexico with my son a few years ago," Shadwick said, "and a shop owner asked where we were from. When we told him Greeley, he said he had some editorial cartoons to show us."

The shop owner led Shadwick to a 4-foot stack of old Harper's Weeklys from the 1870s. For three hours they dug through the papers to find all the cartoons targeting Greeley. Shadwick brought them home and donated them to the museum.

The harshest cartoon is likely one showing Greeley shaking hands with John Wilkes Booth over Abraham Lincoln's grave.

According to Angela Alton, exhibit assistant for the museums, Nast hated Greeley because he supported amnesty for the South after the Civil War and even secured a bond from prison after the

Nast, who is credited with originating the symbols of donkeys and elephants for the political parties, the plump image of Santa Claus and Uncle Sam's image, kept after Greeley, even after he lost the election.

In many of the cartoons, Greeley is shown with a book in his pocket. Greeley wrote a book titled "What I Know of Farming," which Nast apparently thought was an example of how little Greeley knew. In the drawings, the book titles include, "What I Know About Everything," "What I Know About Bailing Out Jefferson Davis" and "What I Know About John Wilkes Booth."

Nast also coined the term "riding on someone's coattails," from the Greeley cartoons, Alton said.

"Nast made known his extreme distaste for Greeley's running mate, Benjamin Gratz-Brown, by refusing to depict him as a character in the cartoons," Alton said. Gratz-Brown was depicted only as a name tag on the tails of Greeley's coat.

Many historians feel Greeley's poor showing in the election — he received only 40 percent of the vote — was due to Nast's cartoons. Even after the election, a Nast cartoon showed Grant shaking hands with Uncle Sam, but underground, in an apparent depiction of hell, Greeley is shown dangling from his coattails over a chasm showing his supporters. Nast labeled it "dooming him (Greeley) to an eternity of torment and disfavor."

Only a few days later, on Nov. 29, 1872, Greeley died. Some blamed Nast for Greeley's death. A friend said Greeley had been "crushed by the unmerciful ridicule Nast had heaped on him."

<http://www.greeleytribune.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20100712/NEWS/100719931/1002&parentprofile=1001&template=printart>

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